1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chiefs wield little authority. They work in their fields and hunt like the rank and file of the group. Their position is conspicuous only when the community organizes a big feast, which is always given in the chief's name. Chiefs also are the leaders of any collective undertaking. They maintain their hold on their people by distributing gifts and looking after their well-being (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 47). A chief who is overbearing or miserly is abandoned by his followers. The son of a chief succeeds to his father if he is acceptable to the group (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 25). 622

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Formerly, a pregnant *Caingang* woman did not consort with her husband, and both observed food taboos. Women gave birth in the forest, sheltered from the supposedly malefi- 843 844
cent moonbeams.[4] A few days after delivery the mother and child were fumigated, a rite accompanied by a drinking bout. [852]

Nowadays, a *Caingang* woman bears her child wherever she happens to be, knowing how to take care of herself even if she is alone. Usually, she is delivered squatting while a midwife embraces her from behind, raising her now and then until travail is over. The navel cord is cut with a fingernail and tied with a caraguatá string.

Among the *Aweikoma*, the placenta and umbelical cord, wrapped in medicinal herbs, are placed in a basket and sunk in the stream. The mother winds a long cord around the ankles of the baby and removes it 15 days later during a feast given by the father to a group of relatives. The umbilical cord is disposed of by the mother's brother or his wife or by the mother's sister, who later become ceremonial parents. 846

In other *Caingang* groups, the mother pulls open the infant's eyelids immediately after birth "in order that he might see," breathes into his eyes and ears, and presses his temples and head from front to back. The father does not pay much attention to the baby until it is old enough to speak: Then he gives it 5 to 10 names. In the south, the names were bestowed without any rite after the above-mentioned ceremony. [553]

The *Caingang* show the greatest tenderness to their children, seldom punishing them or using harsh words. 854

According to Horta Barboza (1913, p. 27), when a boy reaches the age of 7, his mother rubs his body with the leaves of a certain tree and pours water over his head to make him courageous and diligent. 852 553

[4] It is reported that they gave birth unassisted in a special cabin (Serrano, 1939, p. 26).

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553 The child then receives a new name. Later, he may adopt names
952 that refer to notable incidents of his life.

852 In the Santa Catarina group, the perforation of the boys' lower lip
304 at the age of 2 or 3 is marked by great celebrations. Women, holding gourd rattles, dance with warriors, who beat the ground with their spears. The children are intoxicated with beer, and shaken until half unconscious, when their ceremonial fathers pierce their lips with a sharp stick (Henry, 1941, pp. 195–197).

582 **Marriage.**—According to Baldus' census (1937 c, p. 43), men are generally older than their wives, in some cases as much as 15 to 20 years; among 37 percent of the couples there was a difference of 10 years.

A man marries when 18 to 20 years of age. If his bride is not yet of age, he stays with her parents, waiting for the first signs of puberty. In case of child betrothal, the lad's parents have to provide for the girl's subsistence.

595 Polygyny is mentioned by all the early sources, but details vary. Some authors declare that it was an old man's privilege, others that it was restricted to the chiefs, good hunters, or famous warriors. There are also indications of sororal polygyny and of marriage simultaneously to a woman and her daughter (Teschauer, 1929, p. 350). In *Tupí-Guaraní* fashion, a girl often married her mother's brother.

[184] The *Caingang* of Palmas are, and claim always to have been monogamous.

Manizer (1930) states that though a man may not marry his cousin—he does not specify which—he usually takes her as a concubine until her own marriage. If pregnancy occurs meanwhile, the girl, as a rule, commits abortion. It often happened that a man grew fonder of his cousin than of his legal wife, and that he sometimes
[578] resolutely opposed her marriage. The continuation of such relationship was bitterly resented by the legitimate wife.

For the *Aweikoma*, Henry infers that 60 percent of all marriages are monogamous, a fair proportion of the remainder being polyandrous.

585 A marriage ceremony witnessed by Manizer (1930, p. 776) took place during a drinking bout. Some old men seized the bridegroom and bride and pushed them toward each other in spite of the woman's resistance. Then they dragged them into the bridegroom's hut and left them there under a blanket. The following day the woman ran away, but was brought back by force.

591 Matrilocal residence, formerly the *Caingang* rule, is still frequent, though many couples set up their own households. Baldus (1937 c, p. 43) heard "that only lazy men lived in their father-in-law's house and that, should the father-in-law die, the husband would have to 'govern' his mother-in-law."

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546 although he was willing to help Chukembégn, he felt quite differently about helping Chukembégn's brother, Kapíli. Kapíli had for a long time felt himself deserted by his wife's brother Waipó, and news of his anger had somehow reached Yuvén. But Waipó was Yuvén's co-husband, and Yuvén was angry, particularly because Waipó had died. "Yuvén came with many jacutingas. Wainlúin [his wife, the sister of Chukembégn and Kapíli] gave some to her brother Kapíli, but Yuvén ignored him. Kanyahé [Waipó's brother] did not speak to Kapíli." The situation between Kapíli and Waipó could be interpreted either as desertion on the part of Waipó or as desertion on the part of Kapíli. The close relatives of Waipó interpreted it, of course, in the latter way. This is the constant condition within the extended families: the streams of resentment are manifold, and the drying up of one does not mean the establishment of accord.

Property

556 852 In Kaingáng society there was only one reason for a man's accumulating property—in order to give it away to his affinal relatives when his little boy's lower lip was pierced for the insertion of the lip plug or when his little girl's thigh was pricked to make her "able to walk." In preparation for this festa of "blackening the children"[7] a number of men raided the Brazilians, stole their property, and came back and made beer for their affinal relatives. The people particularly singled out for recognition on this occasion were the child's *kókla* and *mbẽ*, the male and female affinal relatives who buried the child's umbilical cord in the water and who on this day pierced its lip or thigh and symbolically "made" the child, thereby completing the process through which they become the child's ceremonial father and mother.[8] This was the child's ceremonial induction into the long series of activities through which in later life his bond with his father's relatives by marriage was maintained, with the vicissitudes to which all relationships were subjected in Kaingáng society. But it is not only the *kókla*, the ceremonial father, and the *mbẽ*, the ceremonial mother, who received gifts on this day, but also other affinal relatives of the father, no matter whether he had come by them through his wife or through his sisters or cousins.

421 Accumulation of property is incomprehensible to the Kaingáng. Property is for use in the struggle for existence. It is not a means to prestige or power. Like most of the abstract values that our civilization has exploited, the concept of power over people is little developed among the Kaingáng. What property they gather above the immediate needs of existence is distributed throughout life to their close relatives. In days long ago, before the

[7] So called from the practice of smearing the children with charcoal. See Appendix III.
[8] See Appendix III.

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765 539 This song has no meaning whatsoever. Said Vomblé: "This is our song of fear. He is afraid of her [the *thâpéya*]. He is singing for her husband's *kuplêng* to be afraid and go away."

Ceremonies for the Kôklá [Ceremonial Father,] and Msã [Ceremonial Mother][45]

The Placenta and Umbilical Cord

846 When the child is born the placenta and the piece of the umbilical cord that was attached to the child are wrapped in medicinal herbs, placed in a little basket, and sunk in a stream, and a sharpened stick is forced through the basket to keep it from floating away. This is called by the term *péyá*, which means to steal or to conceal. *péyá* is done most usually by a brother of the mother and his wife. Through the series of rites that begin with the *péyá* of his umbilical cord the child is bound to his father's affinal relatives.

The Baby's Meal of Cooked Food (Yôgndêyê)

852 Soon after the child is born its ankles are wrapped loosely with about twenty turns of cord, its *patthêyê*,[46] foot cords, and these are kept on for two weeks or so. Then the father decides to make a *yôgndéyê* for his child, and he goes out hunting, with perhaps a brother-in-law to help him, and hunts intensively for a number of days to get together enough meat for a big feast. When the meat has been collected the *mbẽ* and *kôklá* as well as all the close relatives of the child's parents who happen to be around, together with friends, are invited to a feast, and while their guests dine the parents look on without eating. Were they to eat, the father would never be able to shoot game again.

These ceremonies are almost always conducted in high spirits unless the hosts are stingy, and then everyone is rather gloomy and there are secret grumblings afterward. Everyone sits down wherever he wants to, the more distant relatives keeping discreetly in the background and joining but mildly in the conversation, the in-laws acting as if they "belonged," pushing the pots around and dishing out the food. When everyone has eaten as much as he can, or as much as there is, the men start to sing and the baby's mother hastens to remove the *patthêyê*, and when they are all unwound the party wanders off, carrying with it the remains of the feast. Depending on the quantity of meat, the party may last from a half hour to an hour.

[45] The explanation of all these ceremonies for the child is that if they were not performed the child would die, that it would not grow up, or that it would dry up and die.

[46] "The *patthêyê* are put on so they may be taken off at the *yôgndêyê*."

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After the feast the *patthéyé* and the piece of the umbilical cord that was attached to the mother are wrapped with herbs and thrown into the water. Some time after this the child is given a name, but there is no ceremony of name-giving.

The Baby Blackening (Waichēdn)

This was the most joyful ceremony of the Kaingáng. Every few years, whenever there were enough children to warrant a baby-blackening, a large number of the people of one extended family used to come together in a big camp. While the men with children to blacken went out with their brothers and first cousins to get honey for beer, the others made dance ornaments[47] and hunted. The Kaingáng[48] cannot restrain themselves as the day of the festa draws near, and night after night as the beer ferments the men walk back and forth across the camp circle carrying their babies on their backs and singing. When at last the beer is *thō* the women paint their husbands with a black mixture made of charcoal and the sticky sap of a tree and stick feathers in it, and the men put little square hats of embira bark on their heads and wide bark belts around their waists, with bark tassels hanging down. Some of the belts are painted with black paint or animals' blood in crude designs that represent nothing at all. Now some men and women pass around the beer while the men stand or sit and sing, beating time by pounding on the ground with their clubs and lances. When the men have been singing awhile their wives come and stand or sit behind them, moving their arms slowly up and down in time to the music. Everyone sings as he chooses and as loud as he can, while clusters of young men stand around the older ones to try to learn the songs. There is no attempt to achieve harmony—everyone sings a different song, self-centered, musically oblivious to his surroundings. As they stand shaking their rattles or pounding their weapons on the ground—dancing, the Kaingáng call it—they stop from time to time to drink the beer. All day long and until late at night they drink while the women now stand, now sit, beside them, drinking beer, nursing babies, cooking food, eating, mourning, singing, quarreling. Every once in a while a group of men and women break out of the circle, grasp the *kóndjúdn* and the *lu*, and walk across and around the dance circle in a confused singing knot, drunk, intense, and unsteady. This staggering around the circle is called dancing

[47] See Appendix I, p. 171.

[48] Since the Kaingáng abandoned their lip plugs a number of years ago *swichidn* has been given up. What follows is based on observations made at a *swichidn* that was arranged for me. The actual piercing of the lip was done against my wishes and over my protest.

This staggering around the circle is called dancing
852 535 but bears not the slightest resemblance to the rhythmic artistic form usually called dancing. The Kaingáng make no effort to execute a formalized dance step. All they do is walk; yet their word for it is dancing, and they use the same term for the Brazilian polkas. What the word really means is something like "motion on foot while singing." Little children of five or more are not excluded from the festa but drink their beer, try to sing, and march around with the others. Sometimes two or three little boys will take a gourd of beer and go off by themselves and drink it, shaking rattles and singing.

853 304 At some time during this festa the children's lips are pierced. I saw only one child pierced—a boy about two. While Chantágn, its mother, held it on her lap, its grandmother forced beer into its mouth by pressing her lips against the child's and squirting while it wriggled and bawled to high heaven. This was to make the child sleep. Now while the child's mother, aunt, and some other women wept, the child was bathed in beer, wrapped in a blanket, screaming all the while, and laid down on a small heap of blankets. While the child was lying down it was coaxed to nurse to quiet it, even as its *kŏklá* sat by swinging the little piercing knife in time to his own song. "They sing," say the Kaingáng, "so that the child will become frightened and go to sleep." While we may credit the Kaingáng with deep knowledge of infantile behavior under stress, it was clear that in this case the infant was completely unaware of just what was to happen to him; for in spite of the beer and the nursing he was wide awake when his lower lip was marked with three parallel black lines and his upper with one. These were centering lines made so that the piercing would be precisely in the middle of the child's lower lip just under the red part.

Now as the completely terrorized infant is held down by a number of people, while its mother and other women around it weep and the loud singing goes on, the *kŏklá* thrusts his fingers into the child's mouth, distends the lip, and thrusts home with the knife. The child wriggles and screams, seizes the knife, and tries to pull it out as its mouth fills with blood and saliva. Now that the knife is extracted they try to insert the tiny lip plug, pushing and twisting and turning while the baby howls and the blood streams from its lip until at last the plug breaks in an ugly splintery end. Evidently the hole is not properly made. Again the *kŏklá* distends the little lip and thrusts again with the knife. This time must be the last, so he twists and twists the knife until he is sure at last that the hole is big enough. When the plug is successfully inserted it is bound around on the outside with a bit of fiber to prevent its slipping back. Then one of the men takes water in his mouth and squirts it over the wound.

The piercing over, the *kŏklá* picks up the baby, slings it in a blanket on

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his back, and begins to walk back and forth across the circle singing. Then he and the rest of the men stop and shout, "This is your [the infant's] making," followed by:

hili about twelve times; and then *lililihilihilihililiholololo changa changai yetyetyethohoho.*[49] [533]

Vomblé said that the cries were in imitation of the cry of Water's Talking, a water-dwelling supernatural monster. Since, however, the water monster has no part in the extremely scanty ideology of this ceremony, I regard this explanation as very dubious.

Following the baby's "making" they play the game of *kavign*, with soft bags[50] made of the inner bark of the embira tree and stuffed with tree hair. The bags are supposed to be thrown back and forth between the parents and the children's *kókla* and *mbē*, but everyone joins in the fun of tossing the bags high in the air across the dance ground and catching them when they are thrown back. Meanwhile the people shout: "Come here! Catch my animal";[51] and *kavi kavi kavi* or *tē tē tē*[52] or *tektektek*.[53]

When the beer is gone the camp breaks up.

Although the Kaingáng do not say so, it is clear that the ceremonies of *pãyá* and *waichēdn* have the purpose of giving the child a ceremonial father and mother. The *kókla* or the *mbē* are usually brothers or sisters of the mother. They perform the first formal act after the child is born by putting the umbilical cord, the symbol of its birth, in the water; and at last they "make the child" at the ceremony of baby-blackening. On this occasion they receive presents along with the other affinal relatives of the parents, but they are especially rewarded for their services in the lip-piercing.

[49] Instead of these syllables they might also shout the following: *chai* (about 12 times); *yo* (about 4 times); *chai yoyoyoyo o hololola hololola holo* (about 6 times); *tivi* (about 12 times), followed by *tiviri tiviriviri ner* (about 5 times); *ho* (about 4 times); *tivi* (about a dozen times); *tiviri tiviriviri ho* (4 times).

[50] These are plaited especially for the occasion and then thrown away.

[51] "Probably the first ones to come up [in the very beginning of things] referred to these as owned animals [*mang*]. The long bags are men and the short ones women. They are called his wives."

[52] Vomblé said that this was the cry of the dot people, who were imitating the small hawk called *tētē*.

[53] The same informant said that this was the cry of the circle people.

[p. 198 is blank]

X 534

ɲaŋlɔ[78]	*ŋv*[4]	*ɔŋ*	*ŋŋɔyɔ*[82]	*tɛ*	*kʌ*[23]
In the meanwhile		they	water		in

kaˈmbɜ[30]	*kɔ*[32]	*kɛ̃*	*ŋv*	*ɔŋ*	*ˈmɛ*[36]	*kaˈklaŋ*[24]	*mu*	*ɔŋ*
many		Then	they		drink		their	

ɲaɾ[27]	*kaˈŋga*[28]	*tɛ*	*yɔˈŋŋ*[119]	*kɔ*[32]	*kaˈkɛ̃*[120]	*ɔk*[11]
mouth	dry		very		therefore	they

tʃ[23]	*ŋŋɔyɔ*[82]	*tɛ*	*kɔnaŋ*[121]	*mu*[122]	*kɜkɛ*[41]	*ŋa*[71]
	water	look for		habitually		

Free Translation.

The bee was gathering flowers. Then the tucan followed him but did not see the hive. Then he came back and said, "I did not see the hive." That is what he said. Then the baitaka did the same as he — when the bee was gathering flowers he followed him but did not see it. Then he came back. Then he arrived. Then he said, "I did not see the hive." That is what he said. Then when the bee gathered flowers the marcaná went after him again. Then he saw the hive. It was the marcaná that saw the hive. Then when he arrived he said, "I saw the hive, but it was inside a rock." That is what he said. Then they all went there. Then they pierced it. But their beaks would always break. So they said to the tucan, "Come here. Take your big beak." So he came there. Then he pierced but his beak broke. Now, there were a great many of them there trying to pierce the hive. Now, the woodpecker had his *mbɜ*[1] pestle under a cloth. Then he pierced the pestle. Then he pierced through. Then he turned it around and pierced again. Then he said, "If I go to the bee-hive I'll pierce it in just this way." So saying he went there. Then he said to them, "What's all this noise about?" That is what he said to them. Then they said to him, "The noise is because I am about to pierce this hive." That is what they said to him. Then they said to him, "Come here and pierce it for me." That is what they said to him. Then he came there. Then he

[852]

[1] The woman who treats ceremonially a child's umbilical cord.

[P.177 (B)]

X 193 (6) *a kɔ'na tɔ̃ 'mblitke lɔ*
X 539 your eye open imperative
Open your eyes!

In 6 the intransitive verb is used in what would be, in English, a transitive sense. But Kaingang by use of the instrumental changes the sense to "Open with your eyes!" The verb thus remains without an object. 5 is a reduplicated form of the verb without *ke*.

In the following we have a case similar to our English "He entered into an agreement". Here the verb "enter" has no object. But in "He entered the house" it has. In the first sentence the postposition "into" takes the object. Thus in the following Kaingang sentences:

(7) *ka'ŋolo tɔ̃ 'kivi ŋa ha ŋv*
an insect that cuts wood cut

ti 'ŋglẽ tɛ ki 'klv mu
his anus into enter
A branch cut by *ka'ŋolo* entered his rectum.

(8) *kẽ ŋv tã ti 'ŋglẽk tɛ ki 'klupke kẽ ti mu*
then it his anus into enter and die
Then it entered his rectum and (he) died.

In 7 and 8 we are dealing with the same intransitive verb. It is kept intransitive by the use of the locative, "into".

In the following instances the verb *'hutke* to stop, appears both with and without the *ke* with no change in meaning.

(9) .... *ke tɛ tã 'hutke mu*
so saying he stop
When he said this he stopped.

(10) *e kɔ'kla hutke lɔ a tɔ̃ e*
my kɔ'kla[1], stop imperative you me

tʃo ŋu kẽ ma hwẽ mu
angry and you stop
My *kɔ'kla*[1], stop! You are angry with me and you stop (making the wind blow).

[852 304] [1] The man who treats one's umbilical cord ceremonially and also pierces a male's lower lip for the insertion of the lip plug.

[p. 207 (A)]

000 certain trees and the ripening of certain fruits.

802 These Indians count from one to five on the fingers of one hand, and continue up to ten on the other hand. They indicate other quantities with both hands.

757 They treat diseases with the juice of various plants, nearly always applied externally by means of rubbing and massage. Some organic products such as deer stomachs [buxo] etc. are also used [There is a Brazilian plant, Amaiova cryptocarpa, which is popularly called "deer stomach" (bucho de veado). As some of the information in this article may have been obtained second-hand, the above might be the result of erroneous interpretation. --Translator]

They have the habit of tightly binding up all painful body areas, not only in case of snake bite but of any disease as well.

323 They formerly used various objects of fired clay, such as pots 177 of different sizes and shapes and small vessels of varying form which they utilized to prepare and cook their food.

In the course of their later raids on civilized populations, however, they found similar utensils of iron and other metals [128] which they naturally came to prefer. As a result the art of ceramics declined sharply, especially following their contact with us. Prior to this contact, some of the older members of the tribe still made pottery.

821 It is obvious that they need a special clay for the manufacture 323 of these objects. They believe that rainbows point to deposits of this clay, and call them kukron-ndouma--"pot arrows"--on account [744] of this belief. They never buried their dead in earthen jars nor do they do so now, but dispose of the bodies in the manner described above.

852 Every year, toward the end of December or the beginning of January--during the lambang-uan season, at the height of our southern summer--they carry out important celebrations for the baptism of children.

273 The Botocudo prepare a drink for the occasion which they call 852 mong-ma. Its basic element is wild honey, and the preparation is a rather lengthy process. One moon before the event, the Indians have already started on various specialized tasks. The fathers of the children to be baptized are entrusted with the building of large troughs

273 where the liquid is laid to ferment. These vessels are built masterfully with the greatest patience and skill.

The thick trunks of old cedars are selected for the purpose, felled, and cut into pieces from one and a half to two meters long, which are stripped of their bark.

Then a longitudinal opening is made in the wood, eighteen to twenty centimeters wide, and the inside of the log is hollowed out until the side walls are from three to four centimeters and the end walls from eight to ten centimeters in thickness.

They achieve this by means of fire and also with a sort of chisel which was formerly made of stone and which is now made of iron.

Once the log has been carefully hollowed, its end walls are thickly waxed to make them completely waterproof.

While the children's fathers carry out this task, the other relatives go out in search of honey. Small groups of Indians enter the forest in every direction, happy with the prospect of the feast and singing and jesting along the way. They return laden with honey and game.

The honey is laid out in the troughs along with water and with the juice extracted from ferns and from the stems of young palm trees. Then the openings of the troughs, kakógma, are covered with large pieces of cedar bark and topped with heavy weights.

The liquid rests thus for two weeks, at the end of which some round stones, previously heated in large fires, are plunged in to accelerate the process of fermentation. This procedure is repeated several times, until the liquid grows very warm. Then the troughs are covered once more, and when the stones grow cold they are replaced by hot ones.

This process is repeated for three days, and then interrupted for another three days. In this manner the drink ferments quickly and easily. [129]

852 In the meantime, the rest of the tribe, with the help of the women, make ornaments for the celebration, and prepare ground for dancing and games.

They select an appropriate site which they clear, level out and clean carefully in the shape of a vast circle. All around it small shelters are built, facing in. On the day of the celebration, an

852 enormous fire is built in the middle of the circle, and the warriors begin their chanting very early in the morning. At dawn they adorn themselves with all their warrior's badges and perform certain movements in unison around the fire.

[535] Then the women make their entrance, with rattles in both hands; singing, they begin to dance with the warriors. This dance consists of a rhythmic stepping to the regular muffled beat of spears upon the ground and the rattling of gourds.

852 After several hours of continuous dancing, and only then, the
273 troughs are opened and the drinking begins.

The men drink immoderately, as do the women, and the children to be baptized are forced to take some of the liquid. They are revolted by it and refuse to drink it, but the warriors force them to swallow until the children are completely dazed.

When nearly senseless, they are shaken in every conceivable manner by their fathers and relatives to stun them even more. This is done brutally, the children being held by the legs and flung through the air from one man to another until they become totally insensible.

304 The Indians finally proceed to perforate the lips of the
852 neophytes. This is done with a special awl made of very hard wood and hardened further by means of fire.

As soon as the perforation is made, a small labret [Portuguese botoque, hence Botocudo, "labretted."--Translator] ngrókozódma, is inserted through it; as the child grows, this is gradually exchanged for a thicker one in order to enlarge the hole.

[563] Female children are not endowed with lip plugs, but with two incisions made with the same instrument just below the kneecap.

Once these operations have been performed, the warriors resume drinking even more immoderately and go back to their dancing. Later, various games are played.

All the various groups of the Botocudo tribe get together for these important celebrations, which can only be carried out in the presence of all the warriors and never separately.

526 The groups break up along lines of kinship and interests to match their strength and skill in various games.

Ngréda is one of their most interesting games. It consists in catching or parrying a round stone enclosed in a bag of finely woven embira fiber.